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ideal to temper its character or to subordinate the passions of wealth, make the principles of imperialism more or less necessary, however unideal they may be in comparison with a civilization permeated with more spiritual conceptions of human achievement and enjoyment. All opposition to it comes only from those who are trying to cling to ideals that no longer exist, or to sustain the morality of faith on a basis of doubt. Nothing but the recovery of a spiritual ideal will redeem us from the rule of imperialism.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

NEW YORK.

THE INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE OF WOMEN.

It is, perhaps, characteristic of all permanent progress that it has to win its way by fighting; and in no branch of progress is this more true than in the improvement in the intellectual status of woman. Tradition, custom, pseudo-science, and, if I may say so, masculine vanity, have barred the way at every step; and on one position after another has been captured, the enemy has not yielded, but has merely retreated to take up another. Moreover, it cannot be overlooked that at each point of struggle there has been so much justification in the opposition offered that nothing less than the strongest evidence of justice and of righteous expediency could suffice to overcome it. Custom and tradition are generally right, *so far as they go*, and only a larger right can prevail against them. That which has been proved by generations of experience to be in some way beneficial to humanity alone has strength to maintain itself as custom and tradition against the changes of time; but no tradition is so firmly established that the hour may not come when it must be overthrown by a more vital truth. That the process should be slow and difficult is right; for the more difficult it is the greater must be the strength of the opposing truth to which tradition yields. And this is why in the modern history of women's intellectual progress there have been no backward movements. No passing freak or fashion could have prevailed against the strong opposing tradition; and every step forward

has been won by such overwhelming force that it has been won forever.

But it is a movement of which both friends and enemies would say that there is no finality in it. Indeed, there can be none. The march of intellect must press forward whilst the human race survives; and whether the instrument through which intellect realizes itself be the brain of man or of woman cannot affect its essential nature.

"I have often wondered that learning is not thought a proper ingredient in the education of a woman of quality or fortune. Since they have the same improvable mind as the male part of the species, why should they not be cultivated by the same method? . . . Learning and knowledge are perfections in us, not as we are men, but as we are reasonable creatures, in which order of beings the female world is upon the same level with the male. We ought to consider in this particular not what is the sex, but what is the species to which they belong." So wrote an enlightened man nearly two hundred years ago, and in his quaint language he has gone to the root of the matter. It is true we no longer limit the right of education to women of quality and fortune; but the argument that women have the "same improvable mind," and that it is a question not of sex but of species, leaves but little to be said.

For a long time the contest was fought as a battle of woman against man. The issue was a mistaken one, and the result has proved that conflict upon that ground was unnecessary. Women, argued the one side, would be happier and healthier, both in mind and body, if their improvable minds were set free to healthy exercise instead of being confined in brooding ignorance. Men, it was argued on the other side, would suffer; woman's function was to subordinate herself to him in mind and body, to spend her hours in tending him, or in waiting to tend him when he should be inclined for it, to create an atmosphere for his activities, and to be a passive receptacle for such of his thoughts and opinions as he might care to impart. The most consistent exponents of this view have been the Germans:

“Dienen lerne bei Zeiten das Weib nach ihrer Bestimmung
Denn durch Dienen allein gelangt sie endlich zum Herrschen
Zu der verdienten Gewalt, die doch ihr im Hause gehöret.
Dienet die Schwester dem Bruder doch früh, sie dienet den Eltern,
Und ihr Leben ist immer ein ewiges Gehen und Kommen,
Oder ein Heben und Tragen, Bereiten und Schaffen für Andre.
Wohl ihr, wenn sie darum sich gewöhnt, dass kein Weg ihr zu sauer
Wird und die Stunden der Nacht ihr sind wie die Stunden des Tages,
Dass ihr niemals die Arbeit zu klein und die Nadel zu fein dünkt,
Dass sie sich ganz vergisst und leben mag nur in anderen!”

This ideal, it was thought, could no longer be maintained if once women should assert the right of independent intellect; and with it the autocratic life of the man would be shattered. There would cease to be only one will in the home, and where there are two wills, there is the possibility of conflict. Few saw what many now realize, that the old ideal with all its beauty and strength could only be cast down by one still higher and more beautiful; that the devotion of women could be greater, not less, when they had richer minds and wiser hearts to give; that the noblest harmonies of life arise when two disciplined and independent wills combine; and that the truest comradeship is found when man and woman meet on the common ground of mutual intellectual respect. Innumerable happy homes bear witness to-day to the truth of this higher ideal, and so far the battle has in principle been won forever.

But it must be admitted that in practice there are still many who hold that man can only reach his highest by making a stepping stone of woman. In Germany men, though not regardless of women's welfare, are still eager to prove to them that their true welfare lies within the four walls of the home, and that real greatness consists in the daily routine of household duties. And yet they weary of the poor *Hausfrau* who puts her trust in their teaching and faithfully confines her life within the narrow limits laid down by them. One of the most plausible and convincing of these teachers is Riehl, the sociological historian, who in his book, *Die Familie*, strenuously advocates the purely domestic theory of woman; and it is not a little amusing to find him remarking in a surprised sort of way how on the occasion of some international conference the

English and Americans brought their wives with them. "A German of culture would rejoice on such an occasion to be free of his family, and would certainly leave his wife at home." Of course he would; no one wants to be hindered on his holidays with an epitome of household drudgery; but it does not seem to occur to him that a wife capable of intelligent comradeship might even add to the pleasures of a holiday.

Another point around which the battle has been and still is fought, is whether the education of women works for good or for evil upon the fortunes of the human race as a whole. The biologist argues that the race is strong in proportion as male and female differ in their qualities; and he is supported by the sociologist, who maintains that in the course of human evolution every forward step sees a greater differentiation between the functions of men and women. One of Riehl's arguments in favor of emphasizing the difference between the occupations of men and women is that the further back you get in the development of culture the less marked you find that difference to be. He points out that amongst the least cultivated peasants men and women share the same work, and are but slightly differentiated even in dress and appearance; it would even seem, he says, as if the curse of the Old Testament were removed from women of this class, who suffer hardly at all from the pains of childbirth. One would have thought that this undoubted fact might have made him pause in his argument, and suspect something amiss in a form of progress which involves an increasing curse upon half the human race; but the inveterate belief of the average man that it is more womanly to suffer than to do, is too strong for him, and we are left with the uncomfortable proposition that as greater womanliness involves greater suffering, and more progress involves more womanliness, therefore more progress involves greater suffering.

It is probable that much more actual experience and study of the facts is required before we can arrive at any really scientific conclusion as to the effects of women's education upon future generations; but I for one find it impossible to believe that any movement of differentiation between men and

women which involves either a stunted mental life or greater physical suffering for the mothers of the race can really be in the right line of progress.

Still another position has been seized and held by the enemy; and it is, perhaps, the strongest against which we have to contend at the present day. It is the position that the influence of women is detrimental within the sphere of intellect itself; that it tends for superficiality and feebleness in all branches of intellectual activity, in literature, art, music, the drama, and even science itself. And this is held to be the case not only in the actual productions of women themselves; in so far as they form an increasing public for whom it is profitable to cater, men also adapt their work to suit the "feminine mind," and the reign of decadence sets in. Here again the Germans are the most sonorous in their warning note, though echoes of it may be heard in England (*e. g.*, in Courtney's "The Feminine Note in Fiction"). Riehl maintains that intellectual activity amongst women always indicates a morbid condition of the intellectual spirit of the age; and exhausts history to show how such activity becomes prominent in times of political decadence. Moreover, even as a public women are fatal in their influence upon men: Mendelssohn is pale and monotonous and dreamy, while Handel and Bach are strong and manly, because the former was subject to women's influence and worked for a feminine audience. "Publishers speculate eagerly for women's reading; a poet whom women read is a made man. Women have become 'a public' for poets, as two hundred years ago they were a college of art critics in the Hotel Rambouillet. Ultimately, indeed, they are *the* public and the public determines what its poets shall be." Even girls' schools are reprehensible as contributing to the "unerhörte Individualisierung und falsche Selbständigkeit der weiblichen Natur." "We have 'female high-schools,' women's newspapers, and lectures for ladies of all kinds. Scarcely any branch of science remains from metaphysic to engineering which has not been worked up into special handbooks for the use of women." And the sum of the whole indictment is, that what we need in the present age is not the emancipation *of* woman but the emancipation *from* woman.

It is true that this denunciation was written some years ago, but it has recently been republished as representing the author's present view; whilst a still more striking warning has been uttered by another eminent German writer within the last twelve months. Professor Münsterberg, in his book upon America, after a tribute of praise to American women such as might satisfy their most ardent admirers, suddenly delivers himself of the crushing judgment that with all their grace, their charm, their independence and refinement, the national culture is becoming effeminate in their hands, and unless a more masculine influence makes itself felt must ultimately become powerless and unable to affect the progress of the world.

His criticism is so interesting, and, indeed, so important for our consideration, that I will reproduce it here in outline.

In the first place he points out that in America the whole principle of woman's life is different from what it is in Germany. "In Germany the fundamental principle is that woman is meant for marriage, while for man marriage is only a side issue in life, and this involves from the first an inequality which can only be slightly lessened by those new movements which approximate woman to man. In the American, fundamental equality is the starting point." Hence it comes that in America a woman's life is regarded as an end in itself; she is educated with a view to her own development and enjoyment, with the result that she no longer seeks in marriage the necessary content and completion of life. Her disinclination to marriage is often intensified by the fact that she feels herself mentally superior to the man whose education has stopped short with his entry into practical life, while she has continued her studies in school and college. Add again a growing distaste for the routine of household duties, and we have a formidable array of causes which tend to reduce women's inclination for married life, and which have doubtless something to do with the remarkable fall in the rate of increase of the native American population. But our author warns us against the theory of the unattractive blue-stocking. "Her life at college may make the average marriage less attractive to many a young American girl; but it certainly has not made her less attractive to the men."

But it is in the influence of women upon intellectual progress that we are specially interested, and here Professor Münsterberg has much to say. In Germany it is still tacitly assumed that intellectual culture receives its characteristic stamp from man. In America, on the contrary, education and religion, literature and art, social problems and public morality, belong now to the woman. "Für die Frau wird gemalt und gedichtet, Musik gemacht und Theater gespielt, die Stadt verschönt und die Stadt sittlich gereinigt." Most significant of all, amongst American teachers 327,614 are women, as against 111,710 men. In the schools the principal intellectual influence even for boys is that of women; and though it is not so yet in the colleges and universities it is likely to become so. Moreover, even here the presence of so many women in the audience affects the whole nature of the work. The teacher and public speaker must always be prepared to find that at least two-thirds of his listeners will be women. And thus culture, and public opinion in all but political questions, become more and more dominated by women. But granted to the full the earnestness and conscientiousness with which the American woman pursues her public duties, the zeal and success with which she studies; yet this is not sufficient. Earnestness alone is not strength, zeal is not mastery, success in winning prizes signifies little; and the progress of women in America does not offer the smallest proof that they can do the same work as men.

"The intellectual life in colleges and universities which seems to speak most clearly for the intellectual equality of the woman, really proves the difference. What the best women's colleges can do is exemplary and admirable, but for that very reason their world remains a little artificial world, in which all the corners are smoothed away, and which are lighted by Bengal lights instead of sunshine. And though women often do better than men in the mixed universities it must not be forgotten that the American college system with its many examinations offers more prizes for industry, attention, and good will, than for critical acuteness and constructive logic. It must, indeed, be admitted that until a relatively short time ago the American university was altogether more careful of the spirit of learning than of research, more reproductive than productive. The newer development, which lays stress upon productive research, has shown itself especially in those leading Eastern universities, such as Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, from which women are excluded; while the Western universities, especially those State uni-

versities which are confined to the West, where women predominate, still represent the older type in many ways. No doubt there are American women whose scientific work is excellent, but there are rare exceptions. Among the great majority the reproductive tendency betrays itself everywhere. The work is prosecuted with exceptional zeal up to the point where critical production should enter, and there it breaks down."

The difference between men and women is even more obvious at a lower level of education. The half-educated American man abstains from judgment on matters which lie outside his sphere; but there is no sphere in which the quarter-educated American woman is not ready with her opinion, and she is responsible for the facility with which Americans fall a prey to quacks of every description.

To sum up: "The participation of woman in public life has softened and refined American culture in a thousand ways, but has neither strengthened nor deepened it. Her innate dilettantism works too often in the direction of superficiality instead of thoroughness."

This contrast between America and Germany is peculiarly instructive for England, which in this respect occupies much the same position between the two countries as she does geographically. The English woman has made good her claim to an independent intellectual life; she no longer feels bound like the German *Hausfrau* to preface all statement of opinion with "my husband thinks"; on the other hand, it certainly cannot be said that she dominates the intellectual life of the country as in America. But her influence is probably increasing, both as a teacher, as a producer, and as forming a more or less intelligent public. It is, I think, still open to us to determine whether that influence shall be in the direction of superficiality, or whether it shall go to strengthen the best influence of the best men. One safeguard lies in the fact that the energies of the men have never in England become so exclusively absorbed in business life as in America; but so far as concerns the women the same dangers await us here as there. There is no doubt a prevailing tendency to regard college life as the end instead of the beginning, to be content to accept the results of the past without endeavoring to push on further. And not only so, but to accept

those results ready made, without obtaining that mastery of them which only comes when the student really re-discovers for himself, in the light of his own experience, the truths which can never be wholly imparted to him in the language of another mind. Is this tendency an inevitable one, due, as Münsterberg seems to think, to the innate dilettantism of the "female mind"; or is it merely incidental to the particular stage which the much vexed problem of women's education happens to have reached?

I do not think it can be seriously maintained that there is any essential difference in the nature of intellect itself, according as it appears in man or in woman. That there are differences in the degree to which it is developed, as well as differences in the degree of that physical endurance which is necessary to its development, are, of course, obvious facts; but these are differences which obtain as between man and man almost as much as between man and woman. And if, as I hold, the tendency to superficiality is merely incidental to the particular stage we have reached, the remedy ought not to be hard to find. It lies simply in pushing still further forward, in making women's education still more complete and thorough.

Perhaps the first step will be to insist on the same standard in matters of intellect for woman as for man. "Very good for a woman," is a form of approbation quite appropriate in matters of physical strength and endurance; it ought to be meaningless when applied to things of the mind. I do not mean that it is likely that women will ever rival men in the field of literary, artistic, or scientific production; their other duties and interests are too many and too absorbing; the comparative narrowness of men's functions gives them a power of concentration which will always enable them to lead easily. But women as rational beings have the right to have their work judged by the same standard, and until it is so judged their influence cannot be wholly for good.

Another reason why at the present stage women are backward in constructive power lies in the fact that in England, at any rate, the great majority of women who pass through college life have little or no opportunity of continuing their intellectual work independently afterwards. Some marry and become

absorbed in household duties; many return to homes where they are expected to become socially active; still more enter at once upon the arduous task of earning a living, and have seldom time or strength to do anything beyond. A man of ability who is anxious to devote himself to intellectual work can nearly always hope to obtain the means to prolong his studies after his undergraduate days are over; for women there is at present hardly any provision of the kind, and those years which should be most fruitful in maturing her intellect and in testing her powers of independent work she is unable, through lack of means and opportunity, to utilize.

At one of the Cambridge colleges an effort has been made to institute a system of fellowships, but though enough good work has been done to prove the value of such a system, it is as yet on too small a scale and (depending on voluntary subscription) too precarious in its nature, to have its full effect in raising the standard of women's education. It is greatly to be desired that a large permanent endowment should be made to encourage and enable post-graduate work amongst women; not only for the sake of the women who will benefit by it, though they have at least as great a claim as men to such assistance, not only for the sake of the work they will do, important as this, I am confident, will prove to be, but also as a step towards the realization of that independence and thoroughness in intellectual matters which might make our influence not only harmless but useful.

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